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THE HISTORY OF THE

Gunpowder-Treason,

Collected from Approved Authors,

AS WELL

POPISH as PROTESTANT.

*The Second Impression, with some Passages relating
thereunto, never before Printed.*

Sæpe Divinitatis opera hæc sunt, ut furias in ipso jam successu securas subita ultio excipiat: nè vel unquam improbis timor, vel spes absit Calamitosa virtuti.

Jo. Barclaii Conspiratio Anglicana.

LONDON,

Printed for Richard Chiswel at the Rose and Crown in
St. Paul's Church-yard, 1679.

HISTORY

THE

OF THE

Reformation

Collected from Approved Authors

AS WELL

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The Second Impression, with some Passages relating
thereto, never before printed.

For the English Campaign and Angles
and the English Campaign and Angles
and the English Campaign and Angles

1687

Printed for Richard Child at the Bible and Crown in
St. Pauls Church-yard, 1687.

TO THE
R E A D E R.

UPon the Reprinting of this Tract,
I not only compared things a-
gain, and corrected and added
as I saw Occasion ; but also had a design
as I went along to consider what Objections
were made by those of the Church of Rome
against the matter of it. I find indeed, that
they have very much laboured in it, and
have by several little Arts endeavoured to
clear their Church from the Scandal of it ;
but to so little purpose, that I think it no
hard matter to detect and confute them.
This I thought to have done, and had made
preparation for it ; but the work hath grown
so much in my hands , that it will rather
be a little Book than an Appendix, and will
require more time than I have now to
finish it.

But the following of the Lord
 I have always considered a thing
 of great consequence, and have
 not I fear, neglected it; but also had a design
 as I went along to consider what Objections
 were made by those of the Church of Rome
 against the nature of it. I find indeed, that
 they have very much laboured in it, and
 have by several little Arts endeavoured to
 clear their Church from the Scandal of it;
 but to this purpose, that I think it no
 hard matter to show that contrary to what
 I did I thought to have done, as I had made
 preparation for it; but the work has grown
 so much in my hands, that it will rather
 be a little book than an Appendix, and will
 require many times more I have now to
 finish it.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
GUNPOWDER TREASON.

There are no Conspiracies and Insurrections more dangerous to States and Governments, than those that the name of Religion is made to patronize; for when that doth head and manage the Party, as it makes it look somewhat considerable in it self, so it doth inspire those that are concerned with a certain furious and intemperate zeal, and an ungovernable violence; they then rebel with authority, and kill with a safe conscience, and think they cannot do amiss as long as it is to do God service. *The Brother will then deliver up the Brother to death, and the Father the Child: and the Children will rise up against their Parents, and cause them to be put to death;* and the Laws of Nature, which are of themselves sacred and inviolable, shall in such a case be despised and lose their authority. This, this is it which in these latter Ages more especially hath disturbed Governments, disposed of the Crowns of Princes, and troubled the peace of the world: From hence sprung all those mischiefs that threatned & perpetually allarm'd this Nation during the long and fortunate Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*: From hence proceeded that barbarous and bloody design of the *Gunpowder Treason* in the year 1605. Such a Design
as

* *Thuanus*,
Barclay,
Rog. Widdring-
ton in his *A-*
polog. pro jure
Principum.
Pag. 1.

* *Mori historia*
Missionis An-
glicanae praefat.

as the World before never heard of, and which Posterity will hardly believe for the horror of it, say the soberer of their own * Authors: such a design as even some of the Jesuits, after it miscarried, and they saw how ill it was resented by the rest of Mankind, professed their detestation of *, but how little to their own vindication, and the satisfaction of the World, will easily appear to any one that doth impartially inquire into the History and the process of it. For this design was not taken up of a sudden, and what a small company of rash and hot-headed persons did without consideration attempt, but what proceeded from the same original, and was carried on by the same Counsels and Endeavours that were in being in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*; the Principals in which for their time were *Garnet* the Provincial of the Jesuits in *England*, *Baldwin* in *Flanders*, and *Creswel* in *Spain*; these were the great Projectors and Encouragers of that which was called the *Spanish Treason* in the last year of Queen *Elizabeth*; and which when defeated in by her death, and the Peace that issued upon it betwixt the Crowns of *England* and *Spain*, they were put upon new Counsels, and forced to take other Measures for the prosecution of it.

The *Spanish*
Treason.

It was in *Decemb.* in the year 1601, that *Tho. Winter* was sent into *Spain* by the joynt advice of *Henry Garnet* and *Oswald Tesmond*, aliàs *Greenwel*, Jesuits, and of *Robert Catesby* and *Francis Tresham*, Gentlemen of good quality and reputation, to try what could be done for *Their* assistance that were ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for the Catholick Cause; and to assure the King of *Spain* that could they but prevail with him to send over an Army, they would have in readines 1500 or 2000
 horses

horses for the service. With *Winter* was sent over *Oswald Fesmond*, and by them a Letter to *Creswell* the Jesuit then residing there; By whose Mediation the motion was readily hearkned to, and *Don Pedro Francisco*, second Secretary of State, and the Duke of *Lerma*, did assure them of the King's furtherance and help; and in the Conclusion the Count of *Miranda* particularly told them, That his Master had resolved to bestow two hundred thousand Crowns to that use, half to be paid that year, and the rest the next following, and that at *Spring* he would without fail set footing in *England*.

About the latter end of the year, *Thomas Winter* returns with this joyful news, and they were now busie in preparing for it, and almost every day expecting the arrival of these Forces, when of a sudden all was dashed by the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, which was *March 24. 1602*. Upon this *Christopher Wright* is immediately dispatched into *Spain*, to give the King notice of it; and about the same time was *Guy Fawks* sent with Letters and Commission from Sir *William Stanly*, *Hugh Owen*, and *Baldwin* the Jesuit (who were then in *Flanders*, and ready to attend and to prosecute the same Design): But That King told them, That he was now otherwise resolved, and it became him not to hearken to such proposals, after he had sent Embassadors to the new King of *England* to treat of a Peace. It was now therefore fit either to let their Design fall, or to betake themselves to some other course to effect it; but the Former, their Temper and their Principles would not permit; And therefore since they could not promise themselves success therein by force, they did contrive how without any noise or visible and open preparations it might be obtained.

That

The rise of
the Gun-pow-
der-Plot.

* V. Watson's
Quodlibets,
P. 11. 71.
265, 284.

Proceedings
against the
Traitors.

That a King or Queen who is an Heretick may be deposed or killed, was current Doctrine amongst them, in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*, and what they had been taught from Father *Parsons* and *Creswel*, or whoever was the Author of the Book called *Philopater**, and by *Tresham* in his Book *de officio hominis Christiani*, found with them about this time. And though the King was not formally declared and proceeded against as such, yet it was thought sufficient by them that the Pope on *Maunday-Thursday* did censure and condemn all Hereticks in the general, as *Guy Fawks* and others of them did confess. And therefore the Question was not so much about the lawfulness of it, as about the order that was to be observed, and the way that was fit to be taken in it. *Catesby*, who was no Novice in these affairs, and that from his acquaintance with *Parsons* when in *England*, and *Garnet* and the other Jesuits (to whose order he and his Family, from *Campion* down to this time, were particularly devoted) had learned great skill and subtilty, quickly contrived this for them; and when *Thomas Percy*, who was of the House of *Northumberland*, and at that time one of the King's Pensioners, according to the bluntness of his temper, did offer himself for the service, and that he would without any more ado undertake to assassinate the King, This wary Gentleman replied, That would be too dear a purchase, when his own life would be hazarded in it; and it was unnecessary, when it might as well be accomplished without it; And so acquaints him in part with what was intended.

Before this was fit to be fully Communicated, he thought it necessary that there should be some care taken to oblige all to Secrecy; for which purpose an Oath

Oath was devised that every one should take, and which was accordingly administred to them by *Gerard the Jesuit*. The Oath was,

You shall swear by the Blessed Trinity, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receive, never to disclose Directly nor Indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be proposed to you to keep Secret, nor desist from the Execution thereof, until she reſſhall give you leave.

The Oath of Secrecy.

This was taken, and the Sacrament upon it received by *Catesby, Percy, John Wright, Thomas Winter, and Fawkes*, in May, 1604.

Upon which *Catesby* communicated the whole, and told them, That at the meeting of the Parliament which now drew on, they would have a fair Opportunity to consummate all their wishes, and without being observed and discovered, by one fatal Blow to destroy the King, the Prince, the Duke, and the Parliament at once; for as long as there were those Branches of the Royal Family remaining, to what purpose would it be to make away the King; and as long as there was a Parliament in being, what should they get if they could not as well Destroy the Branches as the Root. Therefore his Design was to extirpate at once all the Seeds of Horſie, and by a train of Powder conveniently laid under the House in which at that time they should all be assembled, to Blow them up, and their Cause together. This was what the Confederates very well approved of, and how they united Counsels and Endeavours to carry it on.

The Plot.

The first thing to be considered, was the hiring of the House, and this *Percy* undertook, and having not without some difficulty persuaded the present Tenant *Ar-*

The House made choice of.

ris to quit it, he became immediate Tenant to *Whinyard*,
 Keeper of the *Wardrobe*, at whose disposal it was in the
 Intervals of Parliament. The House was committed to the
 care of *Fawkes*, as being least known, who, the better to
 conceal himself, changed his name to *Johnson*, and gave
 himself out to be *Percy's* Servant. Whilst they were
 thus busie in contriving and carrying on their Plot, the
 Parliament was Prorogued till *February* the 7th, upon
 which they dispersed themselves into several Countreys;
 but to lose no time, did think of taking in some other
 Persons, whom they might confide in, and expect some
 help from, *Catesby* was sensible that he had given
Thomas Bates, a Servant of his that attended him, too
 great cause of Suspicion, and upon Examination found
 him to have observed somewhat from his Proceedings,
 and therefore invited him into the Undertaking; but he
 somewhat surprized at the horror of it, began to decline
 it, till his Master refer'd him for Advice to *Tesmond*,
 unto whom imparting it in Confession, the subtle Priest
 both invited him to it as a work of great merit, and
 obliged him to Secrecy and Fidelity therein. In *Michaelmas*
 Term they met again, and then they thought
 fit to provide a Store-Houle for the Timber, which they
 should use in the Mine, that they intended to make, and
 for the Powder and other Materials, from whence they
 might fetch it as Occasion served. And such a place
 they found and took at *Lambeth*. Then were *Robert*
Keyes, and *Christopher Wright*, Gentlemen, and *Ambrose*
Rookwood, and *John Grant*, and *Robert Winter*, Esquires,
 at several times admitted into the Number. *Decem-*
ber 11th, they began to work, but what from the difficul-
 ty of the work, the Wall that they were to make their
 way

Others taken
 in to be Con-
 federates.

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 Sign of the Crown
 in St. Dunstons Church
 Lane London.

way through, being 3 Ells thick) what from their want of skill in it, and of being used to such kind of Labour, they found that their time would be too short for their Enterprize, and they began to despair of success in it. But when under this Irresolution and Discouragement, their hopes were revived by two unexpected Accidents. For first the Parliament was Adjourned to the 5th of *October* following, by which means they should have time before them. And then they had an opportunity of hiring a Vault, much more for their turn than the Mine which they had so long employed themselves in. This they came to the knowledge of upon this Occasion; As they were one day busie at their Work, they were not a little frightened by an unusual noise on the other side of the Wall, which made them think that they were betrayed, and to betake themselves to their Weapons with a resolution of dying upon the place. But *Fawkes*, who was sent out to make Discovery, returns with Joy to tell them, That it was only the removing of Coals that were laid in the adjoining Vault or Cellar, which was now to be let. This they presently hire, thither they brought their Stores. By this means they gained a double advantage, first, that their business was brought into a less room, which was more for their ease and safety; and then that they were rid of their hard, and but upon such a cause, to them intolerable Labour; for this was a Mine as it were, already, and what was so well situated by its being almost under the Royal Throne, that they could not have chose any thing more commodious. And now they are at leisure not so much to think of this Design (for that was brought to its head, and what they reckoned themselves sure of) as how to carry on the other part of it.

The Vault
hired and
stored.

The King and Prince *Henry*, they did not doubt would fall into this common calamity ; but the Duke, being but four years old, they thought would be absent ; of him therefore *Percy* took the charge and said, He would attend about the Chamber till the blow was given, and then in a trice convey him away, with the help of two or three that should be ready on horse-back ; which they might the more easily do, as many of the Court would be that day upon attendance and perish with the rest, and the others would by it be put into Confusion, and unprovided to make any Opposition. As for the Lady *Elizabeth*, she might be reserved, and her name made use of by them in stilling and composing the minds of the people, and for making good whatever they thought fit to use her Authority in ; And her they might the more easily gain into their hands, as she was now at the Lord *Harrington's* at *Comb-Abby* in *Warwickshire*, whereabouts they might secretly be under the pretence of an Hunting-match, and with the first news there surprize her.

In the mean time was care taken to give notice to those abroad whom they might trust ; and in *March* 1605, is *Fark's* sent over to Sr. *William Stanly*, and *Hugh Owen* ; and with Letters from *Garnet* to *Balaſwin* the Legier Jesuit in *Flanders*. Sr. *William* was absent ; but having first administered the Oath of Secrecy, to *Owen*, he acquaints him with the Plot, who promised to give his utmost assistance ; and to dispose Sir *William* to it (whom he thought it not fit for the present to communicate it to, for fear he might be discovered and fail in a design, that he was then about in the Court of *England*.)

To the 20 Barrels of Powder laid in at first ; they added in *July* 20 more with Barrs of Iron, and massive
Stones

Stones, and at the last made up the Number Thirty Six ; over which they laid a Thouland Billets, and Five-hundred Faggots. And at a Meeting at the *Bar*, of *Percy* and *Catesby*, it was agreed that *Catesby* should take in whom he thought fit ; who thereupon engaged Sir *Everard Digby*, that promised to advance 1500*l.* towards it ; and Mr. *Francis Tresham*, that gave him assurance of 2000*l.*

All things thus being in a readiness, the Parliament was again Prorogued till the Fifth of *November* ; upon which they retired, with a promise of meeting about Ten days before. At which time *Catesby*, being informed by *Winter* at a House by *Enfield* Chase, called *White Webbs*, That the Prince was not likely to be present with the King, there was another Plot laid to surprize him, if it should so happen.

The Parliament Prorogued.

The time drew very near, and they that had past so long without discovery, seem'd now to be above the fear of it. All things had so happily concurred to further their design, and they had all approved themselves to be so trusty in it, that they were more concerned how to manage the success than to fear it. But God that had a reserve of favour for us, and that doth delight in catching the wise in their own craftiness, suffered them to proceed thus far in it, that the detection and overthrow of it might appear to be more from his than Man's Providence. When *Catesby* first thought of this, the great difficulty with him was about the lawfulness of destroying the innocent with the guilty. For the blow would know no difference betwixt a Catholic and a Heretick, betwixt a Friend or For. When the Nobles and the Commons, those that were a part of that

that Assembly, and those that came to be Auditors and Spectators only; those that were within, and those that were without the House; when no less than Thirty thousand must perish at once by it (as *Barclay* saith it was computed) it must needs be that many whom they wished well to; and that also (if they knew it) would wish well to their cause, must be part of the Sacrifice. What an havock would Thirty-six Barrels, or Nine or Ten thousand Pound of Powder make, loaded thus with Bars of Iron, massie Stones, and great pieces of Timber? how would it tear the Foundations of the strongest Buildings, throw down all the Tops of the neighbouring Houses, and bury all within the ruins of both? What would become of their Friends and Allies, those that they had received much kindness from, and others who neither did nor knew how to do them an injury? How many Families must they undo, by the loss of Relations, Estates, and Records which were there deposited? This and much more was what they well foresaw, and what they could not foresee without some kind of horror, if they had but one spark of humanity left untouched by their unnatural Religion. What must therefore be done; to whom should he resort for Counsel, but to his fast Friend Father *Garnet*, to him he opens the Case (as far as it was fit, and as far as the other was willing to know of it) after this manner.

"Whether for the good and Promotion of the Catholic cause (the necessity of time and occasion so requiring) it be lawful or not, amongst many Nocents, to destroy and take away some Innocents also?

"To which the Jesuit replies, That if the advantage
"was

"was greater on the side of the Catholicks by the destruction of the Innocent with the Nocent, than by the preservation of both, it was doubtless lawful; further explaining himself by this comparison, "That, if at the taking of a Town possessed by the Enemy, there happen to be some Friends, they must undergo the Fortune of War, and the General and Common destruction of the Enemy.

With this answer *Catesby* was satisfied, and with this he satisfied others, telling them, That it was the resolution of the Case given by the Provincial.

But, yet though this did thus compose their Minds, and what they were generally satisfied with, there wanted not one that having a kindness for the Lord *Monteagle*, eldest Son to the Lord *Morley*, sent this Note to him, by the hands of one of his Foot-boys that was abroad in the Evening of the Saturday was Sennight, before the appointed time for the meeting of the Parliament.

A Letter sent to the Lord *Monteagle*.

My Lord,

Of the love I bear to some of your Friends, I have a care of your preservation. Therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your Attendance at this Parliament. For God and Man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement, but retire your self into your Countrey, where you may expect the Event in safety; For though there be no appearance of any stir; yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good,

good, and can do you no harm: For the danger is past
 as soon as you shall have burned this Letter. And I hope
 God will give you the grace to make good use of it. To
 whose Holy protection I commend you.

The Letter was without Date or Subscription, and the
 hand in which it was written was hardly legible, and the
 contents of it so perplexed, that the Lord knew as little
 what to make of it, as whence it came. But yet how-
 ever since it respected more than himself he thought not
 fit to conceal it, and presently repaired to *Whitehall*,
 and put it into the hands of the Earl of *Salisbury* Principal
 Secretary of State. The Earl commended the
 Lord for his Care and Fidelity, and told him, That
 though there seemed to be little in it, yet because of the
 reports that he had received from abroad, that the *Pa-
 pi* this Session of Parliament would be very buse
 and insolent in their demands for Toleration upon some
 prospect they had of being in a condition to command
 it; and also that because nothing that concerned the safe-
 ty of his Majesty and Peace of his Government ought to
 be slighted, he would advile with others of his Majesty's
 Council about it. Accordingly he shewed it to the Lord
 Chamberlain, (to whom it particularly belonged to
 visit all places, where his Majesty either lived, or to
 which he did resort) to the Lord High-Admiral, the Earls
 of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, who all were of the
 same mind with the Secretary, and concluded it fit to
 deliver it to the King at his return from *Roxham*, when
 he came from hunting, and from whence he was expected
 the *Thurs* day following.

On

This was not kept so secret, but that *Thomas Winter* had some intelligence of it, the next day; and on Monday went to *Enfield*, to acquaint *Catesby* with it; but he found him resolved to see further, and to wait *Percy's* arrival, whom he then expected.

On the next Day after the King's Return, the Earl presented him with the Letter, and told him how it came to his Hand. After the reading of it, the King made a pause, and then reading it again, said, that there seemed somewhat in it extraordinary, and what was by no means to be neglected. The Earl replied, that it seemed to him to be written by a Fool, or a Mad-man; for who else could be guilty of saying, *The Danger is past as soon as you have burnt the Letter?* for what Danger could there be in that, which the burning of the Letter would put an end to? But the King considering the smartness of the Stile, and withal what was said before, *That they should receive a terrible Blow, and yet should not see who hurt them*, did conclude, as he was walking and musing in the Gallery, that the Danger must be sudden, and like the blowing up by Gunpowder; for what else could the Parliament be in danger of? or what Rebellion and Insurrection could there be, and yet there be no appearance of Stir therein? or how could they be otherwise hurt, and not see who hurt them? And as for the Phrase which the Secretary particularly offered at, he said, to him it seemed to be of a quite different signification, and that thereby was to be understood the Suddenness and Quickness of it, which should as soon or as quickly be done, as that Paper might be burnt. Doubtless this was the sense of it, and what the Person that wrote it did intend, who was no Fool, as appears by the other parts of the Letter; and yet the Discovery of it was extraordinary, being against the common Construction, and far from what any other did apprehend by it; and therefore it is what even some of the adverse Party have looked upon as God's Inspiration. So

*The Letter
presented to
the King.*

John Barclay entitles his little Book that he wrote about it, *Series patesacti divinitus Parricidii, &c.* And *Spondannus*, Ann. 1605. §. 8. saith of the King, that *divinitus evasit*.

The Secretary admired the King's great Sagacity; and tho he seemed to differ from him whilst in his Presence, yet presently conferred with the Lords about it, and on Saturday it was resolved, that the Houses and Rooms thereabouts should be searched. The Care of this was committed to the Lord Chamberlain. who was appointed on Monday to make the Search: which he accordingly did that Evening, being accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, that was very desirous of seeing the Event. Having view'd this House, they found in a Cellar under Ground great Store of Billets, Faggots, and Coal, brought thither (as Mr. *Whinyard* told them) for the use of Mr. *Percy*, and spied *Fawks* standing there in a Corner, who said that he was Mr. *Percy's* Servant, and left there by him for the keeping of his House. Upon the naming of *Percy*, the Lord *Monteagle* told the Chamberlain, that he now vehemently suspected Mr. *Percy* to be the Author of that Letter, both from his Inclination to the Romish Religion, and the Intimacy that had been betwixt them. Though this was a mistake, it being neither *Percy* nor *Tresham* (as Bishop *Goodman* in his Answer to Sir *Anth. Weldon's* Court of King *James*, doth conjecture.) Yet that Circumstance, with what they had already discovered, so much encreased the Suspicion, that when all was reported by the Lord Chamberlain to the King, in the presence of the Lord Admiral, Lord Treasurer, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury*, it was resolved, that further Search should be made, what was under that great Pile of Fewel, in such a House where *Percy* had so little occasion to reside. But what for avoiding the Report of too much Credulity, and easiness to receive Informations of that kind; what from the care of doing any thing that might redound to the blemish of the Earl of *Northumberland*, whose near
Rela-

The House
ordered to be
searched.

Relation, and great Confident this *Thomas Percy* was ; it was resolv'd to do it under the pretence of making Inquisition for some of the Kings Hangings, that were stolen out of *Whinyard's* Custody. *Sir Thomas Knevet*, one of the King's Privy-Chamber, was employ'd in it, being a Person in publick Office, as a Justice of Peace, and of great Prudence. At midnight he repaired thither, and found *Fawkes* standing at the Door, booted and spurr'd, whom he presently apprehended. Then proceeding, he first lighted upon one of the smaller, and after discovered the rest of the Barrels. Upon which, causing *Fawkes* to be searched, he found about him three Matches, a Tinderbox, and a dark Lanthorn.

Being thus taken in the Fact, he both confessed and defended it, adding, *That if he had happened to be within the House, as he was without, he would by putting Fire to the Train, have put an end to their Enquiry.* *Sir Thomas* having had such happy Success, immediately returns with Joy to the Palace, and acquaints the Lord Chamberlain, and Earl of *Salisbury* with it, who went to the King's Bedchamber, and with as much hast as joy the Chamberlain told the King, that all was discovered, and the Traitor in safe Custody. This was about four of the Clock in the Morning. As soon as the Council met, (who were immediately sent for) the Prisoner was taken into Examination, and to the amazement of all, appeared no more dash'd by their Presence, or the Questions put to him, or the Condition he was in, than if he had been altogether innocent, declaring, *That he was not at all sorry for what he had design'd, but only that he fail'd in the execution of it ; and that the Devil, and not God, was the Discoverer.* So pertinacious and resolute was he, that he would not own any Accomplices, but that he alone was the Contriver, and should have been the sole Executor of it, and that he was induc'd to this for Conscience sake, as the King (being an Heretick) was not his lawful Sovereign, but an Usurper. Thus stout and resolute did he continue,

Fawkes his Behaviour upon his Apprehension.

till he was brought to the Tower, and shewed the Rack, upon the sight of which he began to relent, and after some days examination disclosed the whole.

The News of this Discovery flew like Lightning; it was what rejoiced the Heart of every good Subject, and daunted that of the Rebels, and therefore those of them that were in Town no sooner heard of it, but they betook themselves to Flight.

Catesby was gone the Night before towards the place appointed for the Rendezvous; not a little perplexed from the intimation he had that their Plot was discovered. And *Percy* set forward at 4 of the Clock in the Morning, much about the time that the Discovery was made publick. *Thomas Winter* and the 2 *Wrights* that staid behind, staid to hear the certainty of their Defeat and Disappointment, and so made all the haste they could to overtake and meet their Confederates; that they might consult what was to be done in so great an Exigence.

In the mean time there was nothing wanting on their part, who were to contribute their endeavours in the Country. *Sir Everard Digby* came to *Dunckurch* according to appointment, and so confident were they of success above, that one *Grant* a Gentleman in those parts, on Monday Night, much about the time that *Fawkes* was apprehended, with other of his Associates, broke open the Stables of one *Benock*, a Rider of great Horses, and took away all that he found for their own Service, and with them they repaired to the rest. But all their hopes were soon blasted by the sad News which they quickly received from those that had made their escape. Desperation begets Resolution; and now they are lost as well as their Cause, if they do not speedily find out a Remedy; and therefore with all the haste they could, they dispatched some to call in others to their Assistance, and to represent to them the greatness of the danger, that they, and their Religion is in, unless they appear in its defence. This *John* (alias *Greenwel*) the Jesuit, did particularly

larly concern himself in, exhorting all to take up Arms, and to unite their Forces, and for this purpose rode as far as *Lancashire*. This riding to and fro made a noise in the Countrey and awakened the People; the loss of *Benock's* Horses came quickly to the Ears of some of those Gentlemen that had put them into his Hands to manage and fit them for their Service. And for one reason or another the Country was presently up in Arms, and upon pursuit of them.

Some of them were taken Prisoners, and others of them pursued by Sir *Richard Verney*, Sheriff of *Warwick-shire*, to the borders of that County. But they kept on their course, till they came to *Holbeach* in *Stafford-shire*, the House of *Stephen Littleton*; thither Sir *Richard Welsh* Sheriff of *Worcester-shire* followed them, and by his Trumpeters commanded them in the Kings Name to surrender, assuring them that upon their so doing he would intercede with the King for them, and doubted not to obtain their Pardon. But they that were conscious to themselves of more than he understood (for the News had not yet spread so far, nor the King's Proclamations, though sent after them, had not yet overtaken them) bid him Defiance, and sent him word that he must have a greater Force, than what he had then the command of, to reduce them. But whilst the one was preparing for the Assault, and the other for their Defence, God himself seemed to decide the Quarrel: for by the same means which they contrived to destroy others, they themselves came to suffer; for having laid some Powder to dry before the Fire, a Coal upon the mending of it, flew into the Pan, and set fire to the rest, thereby not only blowing up part of the Roof, and a Bag or Powder of 17 or 18 pound, that they underfet the Pan with, which was carried unfired into the Court, but so wounded *Catesby*, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, and several of the Conspirators, that they were unable to make any further Defence. By this time Fire was set to the House, and their case grew so desperate, that they opened

*The Traitors
pursued and
taken.*

opened the Doors, and exposed themselves to the Weapons and Fury of the People. The three principal of them, *viz. Catesby, Percy, and Thomas Winter*, joined Back to Back, and the two former of them were mortally wounded with one Shot, by one *Heming* a Train-Souldier, who had a Pension for it during his Life. *Catesby* dying upon the Spot, and *Percy* if not then slain, yet not out-living him above two or three days. The two *Wrights* were slain at the same time; *Digby, Rookwood, Thomas Winter, Grant, and Bates* were taken Prisoners, and sent up to *London*. *Robert Winter* and *Stephen Littleton* concealed themselves in the Woods, and other places for some weeks, but were afterward taken and committed to the *Tower*. *Tresham* continued in *London*, and seemed ready to find out the Traitors, and by that means thought at first to remain undiscovered; but being suspected, he was afterwards searched for, and apprehended, and sent to the same place. Thus suddenly was that Design discovered which had bin so long concealed; thus suddenly was it broken, which they had bin some years in contriving, therein verifying that of the Psalmist, *The ungodly are sunk down into the Pit that they made: in the Net which they hid, is their own Foot taken. The Lord is known by the Judgment which he executeth, the wicked is snared in the work of his own Hands.*

The Examination of the Prisoners.

These Persons thus apprehended, were carefully examined, (in the doing of which were spent 23 days) and from their several Confessions was drawn sufficient matter not only for their own Condemnation, but also for detection of others.

The Jesuites in the Conspiracy.

The most considerable of which were *Garnet* the Provincial of the Jesuits, *Hall, Greenwell Gerard* and *Hamond*, Priests of the same Order. The respect that *Garnet* had to the reputation of their Society, and his own Safety, had made him to act with so great caution, that he would willingly converse with none about this matter, but those that

that were of his own Order ; or *Catesby* his trusty Friend. And therefore much of the evidence against him fell with that Conspirator. But yet there appeared such presumptions by the acknowledgment of the rest that were taken, and Letters that were found, that there was a Proclamation issued out for the apprehension of him and his Brethren, declaring it Treason for any to harbour and conceal them. *Garnet* when the time drew near, and all things were ripe for their Design, took a Journey to *Coughton* in *Warwick-shire*, not far from the place of general Rendezvous, where he preached a Sermon, and in which he exhorted his Auditors to pray for the success of a great Action, to be undertaken in the behalf of the Catholics, at the beginning of the Parliament, as is acknowledged by his Apologist, and was confessed by *Hall*, alias *Oldcorn*. *Eudem. Joannis Apologia pro Garneto. page. 265.*

Whilst at that place he received a Letter *November 6.* from *Catesby*, to let him know that their Design had miscarried, and to desire him that he would use his interest in stirring up the Catholics in *Wales* to Arm and Defend themselves. But the wary Jesuit provided for his own Safety, and sending *Greenwel* to them for their Assistance and Direction, he himself retreated to *Hall* at Mr. *Habington's* House, at *Hinlip* in *Worcester-shire*, where *Hall* had found a safe retreat for sixteen years together, as an Author of theirs informs us. This was a place of great reception, and as much of the Plot was there hatch'd, so it was from thence that it came to be prevented. For Mrs. *Habington* was Sister to the Lord *Monteagle*, and so being solicitous for her Brother, whom she had reason to believe would then be at the Parliament, she writ the abovesaid Letter to him, to give him so much notice of the danger as might warn him to provide for his own Safety, but not so much (as she apprehended) as might discover it. From this Relation betwixt the two Families, it was that Mr. *Habington* alone of all the Conspirators, after Sentence, had his Life given:

Hen. Mori
Historia massi-
onis Anglica-
na. pag. 333.

given him. This account Mr. *Habington* himself (who was alive about 1645) gave to a worthy Person still in being. There they lay concealed for some time, but at the last were discovered to be in that place by *Littleton*, one of the Conspirators, as the same Author relates, *pag.* 314. Who further saith, that though the help of Carpenters and Bricklayers were used, yet they were many days before they could find them out; being in a Vault, the way to which was in an upper-room through the half-pace before the Hearth, whose Wooden border was made like a Trap-Door, to pluck up and down, and then the Bricks were laid in their Courses and Order again, as we are told by an Author of our own.

Fowles *Romish*
Treasons. pag.
698.

From whence these Authors had this account of the place of their concealment I know not, but that they are mistaken, I am very well assured from the aforesaid Relator, to whom Mr. *Habington* gave this ensuing Relation, *viz.* That for some time after the Plot was discovered, and others apprehended, there was no notice taken of him, so that he begun to think himself secure. But one night on the sudden his House was beset, and he called for by the Sheriff, who as soon as he came down, told him that he was come by special Order of Council to search his House. Mr. *Habington* told him that he was freely welcome, and caused Lights immediately to be brought. They went from Room to Room, and about eleven of the Clock at noon had finished, and found nothing. The Sheriff then being come into the Parlor, said to Mr. *Habington*, Cousin, I am heartily glad that I am disappointed; and so they drank a glass of Wine, and were taking leave, Mr. *Habington* accompanying the Sheriff to the Door. But *Francis Dingly* of *Charlton*, Captain of the County-Horse, staying a little behind, struck his hand against the Wainscot over the Chimney, and finding it to be hollow called the company in, and forthwith breaking it down, found there what they searched for.

Hence

Hence they were brought to London, and committed to the Tower.

On January 27. the other Prisoners were brought to their Trial at Guild-Hall. The Persons arraigned were Robert Winter Esq; Thomas Winter Gentleman, Guy Faux Gentleman, John Grant Esq; Ambrose Rookwood Esq; Robert Keyes Gentleman, and Thomas Bates, Servant to Catesby. By another Indictment was arraigned Sir Everard Digby.

The Arraign-
ment of the
Traitors.

They generally acknowledged the Fact, and spake little in their own Vindication. Rookwood pleaded, That it was the entire Affection he had for Mr. Catesby which drew him in; and he hoped, as it was his first Fact, some Mercy would be shewed him. Sir Everard said the same with respect to Catesby, and added, That he had undertaken it for the Zeal which he had to the Catholick Religion, which he was ready to sacrifice all for; and to prevent those Calamities which he understood that the Parliament was prepared to bring upon them of his Persuasion. Keys said, That his Fortunes were sunk, and as good now as at another time, and for this Cause rather than another. Thomas Winter desired that he might be hanged both for his Brother and himself. Bates and Robert Winter craved mercy. John Grant was a good while mute, yet after said, he was guilty of a Conspiracy intended, but never effected.

They seemed resolved to vindicate the Jesuits, or at least to say nothing against them; whether it were that they were not allowed to discourse of the Plot with any but such and such particular Persons, or whether it were that they thought it to be highly meritorious; and this last seems to be not unlikely. When Tresham not above three hours before his Death, in the Tower, did declare upon his Salvation, that he had not seen Garret in sixteen years before; whereas it appeared, both by the Confession of Garret and Mrs. Ann Faux, Garret's Bosom-Friend, that they had been frequently together the two last years past. And Sir Everard Digby when asked by the Lord Chief Justice, if he had taken the

Sir Everard's Pers. p. 10.

went to conceal the Plot as others did; replied that he had not because, saith he, I would avoid the question at whose hands it were.

their Ex-
ecution.

On the Thursday following, Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, John Grant, and Bates, were according to Judgement, Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd, at the West end of St. Paul's Church. And on the Friday, the other four, viz. Thomas Winter, Keyes, Rookwood, and Fawkes were executed in the Palace-Yard at Westminster.

Garnet's
Examina-
tion.

Now were Garnet and Hall had in Examination, and that several times from the thirteenth of February, to March the twenty sixth. In all which Garnet shewed by the wiliness of his Answers, and the Confidence he maintained them with, that he deserved the place of Provincial of the Jesuits (which he held for twenty two years) being so well versed in all the Practices of his Society, that few could exceed him.

Historia
missionis
Anglican
p. 319.
p. 334.

The King from the first was resolved to forbear the severity of the Rack, much practised in other Countries, in the examination of notorious and perverse Criminals. We indeed are told by a late confident Author of their own, that Garnet was kept waking six Days and Nights together to bring him by that new kind of Torment (as he calls it) to a Confession of his Crime; and that Hall was put to extream Torture for fifteen hours space together in the Tower, for the same reason. But a greater than he, one of their own Persuasion, doth assure us, that the King to avoid Calumny, did purposely forbear any thing of that kind of Rigour, and Garnet himself did publicly own at his Trial, that he had been used whilst in Prison with great lenity. We know not what effect the Rack might have had upon him, for that was a way of Trial he had not been exercised in; but that Course which they took, by frequent and cross examinations, by Expostulations and Arguments, he was so much a Master of, that in all the twenty three days spent in it, they would have gained but little Information, had they not had some greater advantage. Had he been alone, and could not have been confronted by

Thomas
Ann. 1606.

others,

others, he had been much more secure, and they more at a loss. And therefore to prevent any mis-understanding betwixt him and others in custody, that their Answers might not be inconsistent or repugnant, he writes both to *Hall* and *Mrs. Vane*, to let them know after what manner he thought to excuse or defend himself, and what Replies to make to some particular Enquiries; as if he should be charged with his Prayer for the good Success of a great Action, &c. he would say, It was for the prevention of those severe Laws, which those of their Church expected would be made against them by that Parliament. But it hapned, that these Letters that were writ by him, came into other hands than those he intended them for, and did him a worse Injury than any Account that his sworn Friends could have likely given of the same Actions, though disagreeing with his. And indeed herein his Adversaries did outwit him, and worsted him at his own Weapons. For when they perceived that he obstinately persisted in the defence of his Innocency, they took another Course to find him out. A Person was employed as a Keeper, that should profess himself to be a Roman Catholick, and that should take a great liberty to complain of the Kings severity, and of the Sufferings their Party were made to undergo. By these and the like crafty Insinuations he grew to be a Familiar of *Garner's*, and at last was entrusted by him with a Letter to one, and to another. Which yet he did not so much venture upon, but that he wrote sparingly to one, and to the other nothing in appearance but what any one might see, filling up the void places with other more secret Matters, written indeed, but written with the Juice of a Lemon. By this means they found out, that it was not so much his Innocency, as the want of Proof, that made him so confident. By this they came to understand, that *Greenwel* and he had conferred together about the Plot.

There was also another Calamity that befell him by the same Contrivance; for now thinking himself sure of his

Keeper, he let him know what a great desire he had of conferring with *Hall*. The Decoy told him, that he would endeavour to find out a way for it. This was done, and they had that freedom; but at the same time there were placed within hearing Mr. *Fauset* and Mr. *Lockerson*, two Persons of such known Credit, that *Garnet* at his Trial had nothing to object against them, who took notice of what was said, and made it known to the Council. The next day Commissioners came to examine them, and in Discourse charged them severally with those things that passed betwixt them the day before. This *Hall* did acknowledge, being convinced by the Particulars that they produced; but *Garnet*, though desired not to equivocate, did deny it upon his soul, and the word of a Priest, and with such reiterated Protestations, detestable Execrations, as the Earl of *Salisbury* then present, said, *It wounded their hearts to hear him*. And when they told him that *Hall* had confessed, he said, *Let him accuse himself falsely if he will, I will not be guilty of that*. But at the last, when he perceived that the Evidence was not to be gainsaid, begged their Pardon with no little Confusion, and owped the Particulars they charged him with: and a little to save his Reputation, told them, That as he denied all, because he knew none but *Greenwel* could accuse him; so he did deny what he knew to be true, by the help of Equivocation.

Now they had gained good Evidence against him, his Letters first, then his Discourse with *Hall*; and lastly, his own Confession, were a sufficient Ground for them to proceed and try him upon. And that they began to do two days after, viz. upon Friday, March 28.

*Garnet's
Trial.*

The great thing charged upon him was, That he was privy to this Conspiracy, that he held a Correspondence with *Catesby*, and by him and *Greenwel* with the rest. And the chief Part of his Defence was, "That what he did know of
"it was in Confession, and what was told him in that way
he

if he was bound to conceal, notwithstanding any Mischief that might follow it; he might dissuade Persons from it, but whether they would be perswaded by him or not, he was obliged not to divulge it.

After a long time spent in his Tryal, there was but little taken by the Jurymen to give in their Verdict, which was that he was guilty of the Treason; and accordingly he received Sentence, and was executed the third of May following, at the West-end of St. Pauls Church-yard.

His Execution.

This is the Man whom the Jesuits extol to the Clouds, and that is put into the Catalogue of their Martyrs, as it is to be found at the end of *Alegambe Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*. This Person, who was a perfect Master of the Art of Dissimulation, that could by Equivocation swear to what he knew to be false, is what one of them bestows this Character upon, That there was in him *Morum Simplicitas, & Candor animi minime suspitans*. This Man who had not the Heart to die, and who at the time of his Execution was so divided betwixt the hopes of a Pardon, and the fear of Death, that he could not attend to his own Devotions; but one while cast his Eyes this way, and another that; now at his Prayers, and anon breaking off from them to answer to that discourse which he overheard. This Man, I say, is said by *Alegambe* to go to his Death *interritus & exporrecta fronte obfessans*, &c. without any fear, and protesting that he exceedingly rejoiced that he was now to suffer that Death which would be an entrance to an Immortal Life.

His. Mis-
son. Angl.
P. 311.

The Conclusion of all which is, that no Jesuit can be a Traitor, and none suffer for Treason but he must be a Martyr.

The Case of *Hall* was much the same with that of *Garnet*; he did confess, and it was also proved that they were both together at *Conighton*, and they were both found together afterwards. It appeared that he had afterward defended the Treason to *Humphrey Littleton*. The Excuses, the Discourse, the Confessions, were much one and the same, but only that *Garnet* was the more resolved, and the more obstinate of the

The Tryal
and Exe-
cution of
Hall, &c.

two. Now because as this Treason was hatched, and to be executed in the main at *London*, so because part of it was also to have been done in the *Cotbrey*, and the chief of the Conspirators were there taken, therefore six of them were sent to *Worcester*, and there tryed before Sir *Daniel Williams*, one of the Justices of the *Kings Bench*, and executed *April 7*. two and two together; First *Humphrey Lister* and *John Winter*, and then this *Hall* with three others. Thither, I say, he was carried with them for that reason, and not because his Adversaries were ashamed to have his Cause heard at *London*, as a bold Author of theirs would have it.

It is no wonder to find these Men so concerned to clear themselves of it, when all the World is against them; though this is no more to be done, than to prove that one that kills a King is a good Subject, and one that stirs up his Subjects in Rebellion against him, is a Friend to him.

These were the Persons that were taken; and suffered for this bloody Treason: Some of the rest escaped, the Jesuits *Greenwel* and *Feuerard* to *Rome*; when the former was made a Confessor in *St. Peter*, at *Rome*, and the latter was preferred to be the Popes Penitentiary: And others to other Parts; of which one, when *Dominicus Vicus*, Governor of *Calice*, assured them of his Kings Favour, and though they lost their own Country, they might be received there, replied, *The loss of their Country was the least part of their grief; but their sorrow was, that they could not bring so brave a Design to perfection.* At which the Governor could hardly forbear casting him into the Sea, as *Thuanus* relates from *Vicus* his own Mouth. Others there were whom the Government had a great suspicion of, as *Henry Lord Mordant*, and *Edward Lord Stanton*, who not appearing upon the Summons to the Parliament, were supposed to absent themselves from some intelligence that they received, and were fined in the *Star-Chamber*, and to be imprisoned during the Kings Pleasure. The like Sentence did *Henry Earl of Northumberland* undergo, for having admitted *Thomas Percy* his Kinsman to be a Gentleman-Pensioner,

ner, without administering to him the Oath of Supremacy, when he knew him to be a Roman.

This was the end of that Plot, and of the Persons chiefly concerned in it. And it would be happy if they had left none of their Principles or Temper behind them, a Generation whom no Favour will oblige, nor Kindness retain, whom nothing but Supremacy will content, and the most absolute Authority can gratifie. Whom nothing can secure against, but a sufficient Power, or great Industry, or constant Watchfulness, and scarcely all. And therefore it's fit that not only as a branch of our Thankfulness to God, but also as a caution to our selves, that this Deliverance should be celebrated, and the Memory of it perpetuated. I shall end with what is said by a great * Person of our own, some years since.

* Bishop
Sandersons
Sermons

Two great Deliverances in the memory of many of us hath God in his singular Mercy wrought for us of this Nation, such as I think, take both together, no Christian Age or Land can parallel. One formerly from a foreign Invasion; another since that of a hellish Conspiracy at home. Both such as we would have all thought, when they were done, should never be forgotten. And yet, as if this Land were ten'd oblivion, the Land where all things are forgotten, how doth the memory of them fade away, and they by little and little grow into forgetfulness? We have lived to see 88 almost forgotten, (God be blessed who hath graciously prevented what we feared therein) God grant that we nor ours ever live to see November the 5th forgotten, or the Solemnity of it silenced.

F I N I S.

**The Authors from whence this Narrative
hath been Collected, Are,**

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*Sir Everard Digby's Papers, printed this Year at the
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